2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954. AF12 North China AF12

536 533 singing for his own pleasure and to scare away any wandering spirits that might be about.

The reports spoke especially of the large numbers of women and girls who attended the yang ke plays. They were one of the big recreational events of the year and all the community made the most of them.

545 369 533 Theatrical performances were also given by troupes of professional actors engaged by some villages and by city organizations, such as the Lantern Association of the West Street, to give plays at New Year's time, for the temple fairs, and for other special occasions. The engagements were usually for a three or four day series of plays. The cost of this entertainment was about $130. The details of the expenditure are given in our report on the Temple Fairs in Chapter XVIII. The expenses of the plays given in the villages were usually paid by all the people in the village, generally by special graduated subscriptions rather than from general village funds. In some instances the amount of a family's subscription was determined by the amount of land the family held. In others the amount asked of each family was arbitrarily fixed, but it usually had some relation to the family's economic status. The subscription was practically obligatory, but we were told of some instances where families had refused to contribute. The collector threatened them with bodily harm if any member of the family went to the plays. In the city the cost was met by the members of the organization promoting the plays.

The spectators were not limited to the inhabitants of the village giving the plays, but came from the surrounding villages as well. It was an occasion for much local visiting and entertaining.

536 771 782 Worship of the gods was closely connected with most if not all of the plays given in 1929. A possible exception was those given for the Tung T'ing fairs, as it was reported that those fairs had no temple connection. If the stage was not set up in or near a temple courtyard where there was an altar, a shrine usually was built opposite the stage so that the gods might be worshiped and know that the plays were given as an offering to them. The people attending the plays combined worship and recreation. Theatrical plays were often given, as a special offering, when the community was seeking help from the gods, asking for rain, or wanting protection from locusts or other pests and disasters. The plays given at the temple fairs were naturally related to the temple worship.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

In the shrine opposite the stage, in one of the villages, the tablet was that of All the Gods. On each side of the niche in which the tablet was stood was pasted a couplet printed on red paper. It read:

Be welcome Divine God
You are the Father who will soon give us blessing.
Be merry and happy
No locusts shall come morning or night.

The strip of red paper pasted above the shrine read:

Gratitude for Your Divine Kindness.

Three incense burners stood in front of the shrine. On the table in front of them there were three dishes of small loaves of Chinese bread, all colored red for the occasion, and five dishes of food. Each of the food dishes was decorated with a red flower. All day long people stopped before the altar to burn incense and paper money, to kotow and pray.

At one performance five plays were given in one evening. In another the program included eight plays.

One of the plays given by a professional troupe depicted in six scenes the story of Hsü-hsien, who fell in love with a young girl called White Serpent. They loved each other dearly and were quietly married. The fifth day of the fifth month was a time to dispel evil spirits and many people drank a specially potent wine that was said to be able to reveal a disguised spirit in its true form. On that day the couple drank to each other's health. Unbeknown to White Serpent, the special wine was used and as soon as it touched her lips her beautiful human form was changed into a white snake. Hsü-hsien fled to the Chin-shan Abbey, told his story to the abbot, and pled with him to save him. The white snake was very angry and went to her kinsman, the king of the water dragons, to ask his help against the abbot. He ordered his soldiers and subjects—the fish, turtles, lobsters, clams, oysters, and water insects—to lash the water into a tumult. The seas overflowed, the land was deluged, the Chin-shan Abbey was submerged. The white snake fought with the abbot, but was overcome by his great magic and the seas were returned to their bed. The white serpent was imprisoned in a tower by the abbot until she should repent of her evil ways and promise to be good. Hsü-hsien was saved by the power of the abbot.

The stage was usually about 30 feet square with the back third

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

special pilgrimage time; when the gods were asked for special help or protection; or for a funeral. This means they had only a limited amount of support from their religious position and many of the priests and monks had to earn a large part of their living by other means, usually by farming.

One report says the priests charged $1.00 a night per man for their part in funeral services, another that the charge was $4 for six men with an extra charge of $1.20 for music. The usual number of priests called in for the funeral services was four, six, or 12. In not a few instances men who were not priests put on the priests' robes and took part in the funeral service.

When the village elders of the Experimental District were asked about the number of temples, the religious societies, and religious observances in their village, they also were asked how much had been spent for special religious observances during the five years from 1922 through 1926. They reported a total expenditure of $5,455 for seven different causes: praying for rain, praying for protection from insects, hail, flood, sickness, and looting, and celebrating the reappearance of a god. The largest number of villages, 15, reported services praying for protection from insects. The total expediture was $996, an average of $66 per village. There was only one Ch'ung Wang Miao, Insect King Temple, in the Experimental District. The prayers, therefore, were offered in other temples where the Ch'ung Wang was a secondary deity or else before an altar specially set up for the occasion. Probably most of these services were held when the locusts came in 1922.

Fourteen villages reported praying for rain. Their total expenditure was $1,550, an average of $111 per village. The services probably were held in the spring of 1924 and the spring of 1925, for in both those years the lack of spring rain was serious enough to be noted in the list of calamities. The dragon would be the god prayed to as he controls the waters and therefore the rain. There were only five temples dedicated to the dragon king or his mother, but it was not difficult to arrange an altar for special services.

Ten villages offered special prayers for protection from looting. The average expenditure was $65 per village. Most of this expediture would be in 1926, when there was fighting in Ting Hsien between the Fengtien and Shansi forces. The Shansi forces first drove the Fengtien army from Shih Chia Chuang almost to Paoting, and then they them-

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

782 selves were driven south of Ting Hsien. There was looting when the Fengtien forces left Ting Hsien, and more when they returned and recaptured the area after fighting inside the city walls. This is said to be one of the worst times in Ting Hsien in recent years. After they had one experience with the looting of the Fengtien troops, it is not to be wondered at that the people turned to their gods for protection against a repetition of that experience. The year 1928 was not included in the period of our study of special religious expenditure, so we have no report concerning special services that may have been held because of the fighting and looting of that year.

Three villages spent $440 praying for protection from sickness, an average of $147 per village. One village reported spending $690 during five years for services seeking protection from hail. This total probably included a large amount spent for some special item such as the renovation of the temple. Perhaps an annual service was held in anticipation of possible damage. Hail damaged the crops in both 1923 and 1926.

There was damage from floods every year from 1922 to 1926, but only one village in the Experimental District reported holding special services to ask for divine protection from that sort of damage. The expenditure was only $70, so probably only one, or not more than two, services were held during the five years.

The largest average expenditure was made in connection with reappearances of the gods. Three villages reported a total expenditure of $1,150, or an average of $385 per village, for such services. This amount probably included some expenditure for the renovation of the temples as well as the cost of the celebration services.

During the 12 years from 1915 to 1926, the record of calamities shows seven years with flood, three with drought, five with hail, seven with locusts, three with sickness, cholera or plague, one with frost, and three with looting.

511 The families in our budget study (see Chapter V) spent an average of 75 cents when they went to the temple fair, but most of that was for entertainment rather than for any religious items. Their expenditure for religion averaged 70 cents for the year, most of it for paper money and incense.

346 178 771 871 One wishes the records were available to show what special events or particular influences were connected with the erection of the various temples and what were the special periods of temple building and re-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 465 to the head of the group who made the bargain. In the East section or "pass" the surplus is divided among all who did the work. Furthermore, in the West section individual porters cannot bargain for a job directly. They must do only work agreed upon by the head of their group. The implication is that in the East section such direct bargaining is allowed. Here, then, we have minute regulations differing between the two divisions of this small guild, indicating a very fine differentiation and standardization of customary practice.

*467 482 In discussing the functions of this guild, the head man reiterated the importance of the monopoly privilege. "Non-members are not allowed to carry goods for pay." The guild's principal function, then, is to see that no one other than a guild member carries on this type of work in guild territory.

782 *467 Unlike most of the guilds studied, which have only one yearly meeting, this guild has two regular meetings, one at the *Miao Feng Shan,* or temple, on the sixth day of the fourth month, which is the objective of the yearly pilgrimage and the other at the Temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao,* on the seventeenth day of the ninth month.

At the regular Peking meeting both the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother and the God of Wealth, the other special patron saint of the guild, are worshiped. Incense is burned before them. Two feasts, instead of the usual one given by most guilds, are celebrated. These feasts are considered as primarily for the "guild gods."[1]

*467 482 At this meeting "reports of the past accomplishments" of the guild are made. "Lectures on duty and conduct" are given. "The ill-behaved are publicly warned." Only important matters are brought up for settlement. All minor matters are "settled by the elders." There is "full attend-

[1] The details of the religious ritual are given on pp. 181-182.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

call together a meeting of representatives of the six districts at some tea house" to discuss procedure.

Guild meetings may be divided roughly into three types: (a) The informal conferences either of the committee or of the committee and representatives called from the other five districts. (b) A preliminary meeting held in the third month if there is to be a change in the wage scale. (c) The general or religious meeting held always on the fifth day of the fifth month.

At the informal conferences such matters as the following are discussed: The suggesting to the annual guild meeting of a change of wages, details regarding ceremony of worship, emergency matters which cannot wait for the guild meeting. At the preliminary meeting in the third month the main subject is a change in the wage scale. We are told both in conversation with Mr. Chiao and in the written report that often the discussion regarding wages waxes very warm and there are frequent cases of fist fights which sometimes make it necessary to bring in the police to settle the dispute; but when the wage is once determined upon it is considered as the fixed minimum until a further decision of the guild. At the general meeting which is held in the *Ching Chung Temple,* the invitation to which reads as a call to worship Lu Pan, the founder of the guild, and to prepare a feast and a play for him, the religious ceremony is the central feature. The committee in charge for the year meets the day before to make full preparations. The members as they arrive register and pay their fees for the year. Each guildsman worships before the Master Lu Pan as soon as he has registered. Later a play is given by professional actors. Before and after the play and between the acts business is discussed. The guild rules are read, an announcement is made regarding the punishment of offenders and the names of absent members are read. On the day of the religious cere-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

mony the officials have a feast, but the ordinary members, probably because their number is too great, do not observe this part of the ceremony.

The income of the guild is derived almost entirely from membership dues. The ordinary member pays 70 coppers ($.20) a year while the officials who have the privilege of the feast pay twice that amount. The average yearly income is reported roughly as 200,000 coppers ($579.71), but for the last calendar year (1925) the income was reported as well over 300,000 coppers ($869.56). Mr. Gamble's study of the wages of Peking indicates that because of the fall of the value of coppers the wage scale in 1924 was changed to a silver basis.[1] It is probable that because of the increase in wages more dues were paid than usual.

Outside of the annual dues "very little is received from fines, for no one would report on the non-member because of fear of hurting people." Here, also, there seems some indication of the weakening power of the guild. In some cases at least carpenters are carrying out their work without joining the guild and the guild members are afraid to report them for fear of causing offense. But "most of them (the carpenters in Peking) are members. As no one reports upon them it is not known how many non-members there are."

The procedure followed by the officials when guild members refuse to pay their dues is described as follows: "The officials in charge for the year make demands in person for the dues. If they are not paid an additional fine is charged which consists either in buying incense (to be used in the worship of the guild god) or in paying several tens of coppers. In very serious cases the offenders are sometimes forced to kneel down before the burning incense (in front of the image of the guild founder)." Evidently, the height of humiliation is the necessity of bowing in the presence of

[1] Meng and Gamble, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

that he was disliked by his master. Finally he felt so disgraced by his inability to learn wood-working that he left Lu Pan and went out to the mountains. As he sat there disconsolate, he noticed that all around him were groves of bamboo; and thinking that bamboo was very much like wood, he split it and made baskets, tables and chairs with it. As a result, he is the hero of the bamboo workers, who blame Lu Pan because he was not able to discover the abilities of his apparently dull apprentice.[1]

At the time of the yearly religious meeting in the guild temple, a paper effigy of Lu Pan is made and on the wall to the right and to the left of this effigy are pictures of prominent deceased heads and members of the guild. The arrangements for the religious ceremony are in the hands of the committee for the year. Offerings of food are prepared and placed before the effigy. Also, paper money of the kind similar to that used at funerals and imitation silver "shoes," or conical-shaped structures of silver paper corresponding in size to the silver ingots customarily used in Chinese business transactions, are placed before the effigy. Likewise, smaller offerings of food are placed before the various photographs of the deceased members. Incense is kept burning before the effigy and the pictures.

Each guildsman after registering kowtows (kneels and bows three times with head to the ground from kneeling position) before Lu Pan and the portraits of the guild founders. After the ceremony a play provided by actors hired by the guild is given, presumably for the guild spirit, but to the great enjoyment of the guild members.

It is significant that Mr. H. C. Chang, our investigator, before studying the guild personally had thought that the religious features of these organizations were merely formal. After his study be expressed his own convictions regarding the guild as follows: "The main purpose in founding the

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-6.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 guild was to worship the master and to express thankfulness
335 for his having handed down the technique (of carpentry).
982 The members come to the guild meetings for the purpose of worship and religious observance."

465 The guildsman interviewed said that he saw signs of prosperity in his craft and that the membership was increasing: "The rent for houses is now high; therefore men are building new houses, and consequently there is more demand for carpenters. The wages also are increasing to keep pace with the rising cost of living." This general observation is in harmony with Mr. Gamble's study, *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*. Because of the increasing cost of living the guild had changed the wages from a copper to a dollar basis, which meant a considerable increase.

*467 Several years before the Boxer Uprising of 1900, certain
177 missionaries in Tung Chow, fifteen miles east of Peking,
335 had been training carpenters in the methods of constructing foreign houses. There has also been an increasing demand for homes for missionaries and for Christian school buildings, for business houses, stores and, more recently, hotels, government colleges and schools constructed in the Western style, as well as a general demand on the part of many wealthy Chinese for foreign-style houses. As a result a very considerable number of these guildsmen are now trained in the methods of constructing buildings in the Western style.

Not only has the technique of the carpenters changed, but the attempt to form the Lu Pan Industrial Union referred to above signifies an endeavor to meet new conditions.

C. A Meeting of the Blind Guild

*467 In order to give a vivid picture of a meeting of one of the
732 most colorful guilds in Peking, there follows an account of a meeting held in the spring of 1919 given by an eyewitness,

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

times, and then the next pair was brought up. All the time the worship was going on, music was furnished by six of the best musicians of the gild.

After all forty-eight of the officers had worshiped before the gods, the musicians gave a two-hour concert with their best songs and music. Any who had written new songs during the past year were called upon to give them at the time. Following the concert, the business meeting was held from 12 to 2. It consisted of reports and the discussion of methods for strengthening the gild, and of ways and means for making the business of the blind entertainers more prosperous. At the end of the meeting, a report giving a statement of the condition of the gild, a résumé of the business of the past year, and the names of all the officers, musicians, committeemen and subscribers, was burned on the altar, so that the gods might have a complete report of the work and development of the gild.

After the business meeting, the committee constituted itself a court, tried the cases of those who were accused of having broken the rules and regulations of the gild, and heard and attempted to settle cases where there had been a quarrel or dispute between any of the members. When the cases were brought before the court testimony was taken and a verdict rendered. Each of the members of the executive committee carried out the duties of the office to which he had been assigned.

In the olden days, the gilds used to punish their younger members, when convicted of violating the important rules of the association, by sentencing them to 50, 70 or 100 strokes of the bamboo, according to the degree of their guilt. As the gild felt that no man could completely break a rule, the entire sentence was never carried out. If a man were sentenced to 100 blows, the executioner would give only 90. The older members were punished by a fine. Those convicted of a first degree offense were fined one tael ($1.39). For a second degree offense, the fine was seven mace (7/10 of a tael [$.97]) and for one of the third degree, three mace (3/10 of a tael [$.42]).

After the establishment of the Republic, the people denied the gild the right to use the bamboo and insisted that other punish-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 732 627 ments be used. As a result, the gild has found it hard to enforce its rules, and but few trials have been held during the last few years. The gild officers, however, are planning to suspend for a certain number of days those who break the rules of the gilds. Suspension will mean that the guilty one will be prevented from carrying on his business during those days, and it is hoped that in this way the members can once more be made to live up to the rules.

•782 Following the trials, a feast was served to the committee and visitors who were still present; and then, after the burning of another paper before the gods, the meeting broke up about 5 a. m.[1]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-174.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

officers of the guild collectively and tabulated their official functions in the order in which they occurred to them. Most prominent in the replies, of course, is the general statement of "managing the affairs of the guild." When we get beneath this blanket statement, we find that the duties mentioned may be classed roughly as follows: (a) preparing for the special meetings of worship, including temple arrangements; (b) calling special committee meetings or yearly business meetings when held at other times than the meeting of worship; (c) supervising the financial affairs of the guild, which includes proposing rates for the yearly dues, collecting the dues and fines, keeping an eye on the accounts and making a financial statement of the guild's expenditures; (d) making proposals to the guild regarding important matters, such as increasing the wages or a change in the constitution; (e) the punishing of offenders, including the imposing of fines, the detection of rule breakers and expulsion from the guild; (f) maintaining relations with outside bodies, such as the Chamber of Commerce, when the guild belongs to it, and representing the guild in dealings with the government.

The responsibility of the elders or officers for the meeting of worship is emphasized in the replies from craft guilds. Ten guilds emphasized this priestly function. The duty of the officers is "to prepare the day of worship and the play;" in the Masons Guild, it is "to prepare the sacrifices," in the Leather Box Makers Guild, "to manage the guild's worship." Among the commercial guilds there is less emphasis on this function.

There is a similar contrast in the emphasis on the punishment of offenders. Seven craft guilds note that officers' activities include such things as "to punish offenders" (Awning Makers), "try to find the law breakers" (the Carpenters), and "to inflict punishment on offending members"

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XI

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE GUILDS

The principal writers on Chinese guilds have all mentioned the custom of worshiping the master or supposed founder or patron of the guild. The ceremonies connected with this worship have been variously appraised. Morse, for example, holds that there is no distinct evidence of any strength in the common worship of the craft guilds in China.[1] The writer's conviction is that this statement is not in harmony with the evidence revealed by the present study. Before evaluating the religious practices of the guildsmen, however, we will try to present an accurate picture of the ceremonies.

In most cases where there is a regular annual meeting, the meeting is held in connection with the service of worship for the master of the guild. The business of the meeting frequently is carried on between the acts of religious drama or at different points in the religious ceremony, but the fact that there is this mixture of religious worship and business cannot be taken to signify that the worship is merely formal. Any one who has visited a Chinese temple at the time of the public fair knows that there is no incongruity or lack of reverence in the minds of the Chinese in ceremonies of worship amidst noise and confusion.

A. The Month of Annual Religious Meeting

The general meeting at which religious ceremonies are performed is usually held once a year. However, where

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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there is more than one patron saint, two or even three religious meetings may be held. The dates of twenty-five such

TABLE XIV

DATES OF REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING

Month	No. of Guilds Meeting
1st month	2
2nd month	2
3rd month	6
4th month	4
5th month	2
6th month	3
7th month	2
8th month	0
9th month	3
10th month	0
11th month	1
12th month	0

meetings show that the spring months are the most popular. Fifteen of the twenty-five meetings were held in the spring or early summer in the third, fourth, fifth, or sixth month of the lunar calendar.

PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

Religious ceremonies are most prevalent among the craftsmen. With one exception, the Dye Stuffs Guild, all the craft workers and professionals have one or more saints or gods that they worship.[1] Possibly the Dye Stuffs Guild has no patron saint because of the late date of its founding. The fact that the Electricians Guild has no patron bears out this assumption. Three of the commercial guilds have no patron saints, and the report on one of them is uncertain.

[1] *Cf.* Table XVI, pp. 188, 189.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XV

THE PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE GUILDS

	No. of guilds in which one or more "saints" are worshipped every year	No. of guilds in which worship recently has been discontinued	No. of guilds having no saint or no worship	No. of guilds uncertain
Handcraft.....	12	3	1	
Commercial.....	9	5	3	1
Professional.....	7	1		
Total.....	28	9	4	1

A significant feature of the replies was the evidence that regular religious ceremonies are being discontinued in a large proportion of the guilds. In nine (24.3 per cent) of the thirty-seven guilds reporting religious ceremonies, the ceremonies have been discontinued. This phenomenon is especially in evidence in the commercial guilds, five of which have in recent years discontinued their ceremonies.

The reports on this point throw some light on the reasons for discontinuance. The Confectionery Makers say that "formerly there was religious ceremony; now it is stopped." The Cloth Pasters report that "formerly we had worship at the *Ching Chung* Temple; the last few years, due to bad business, there has been none." The Shoe Fasteners report, "We have had no plays for the last few years." The Cooks report, "For about ten years there was religious worship where feasts and plays were given in the *Yao Wang* Temple. It is now stopped." The Cloth Stores, "The ceremony is now stopped." The Confectionery Stores, "There has been no play for two years." The Second-hand Clothes Merchants, "This year there was no drama." The Clock Stores, "At first (when the guild was founded) there was worship, but not now." The Dye Stuffs Guild, "Plays have been cancelled since 1900."

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

One evident reason for the stopping of the plays is an economic one. Such ceremonies are costly and cannot be kept up during "bad business," as the Cloth Pasters report. In the case of the Clock Stores, the probable reason for discontinuing the worship was that originally the guild ceremonies were of a Roman Catholic nature, the guildsmen all being of that religion, but recently many Buddhists have been taken into the trade and there could be no form of religious ceremony that would satisfy both groups. Undoubtedly contact with new ideas and loss in belief in the potency of the ancient religious worship have also been factors influencing this discontinuance. In the commercial guilds where all members are able to read and where wide contacts are made through the Chamber of Commerce, the newer ideas have a fairly direct access to the minds of the guildsmen.

C. The Names and Description of the Guild Founders or Masters

The guild founders or masters [1] were chosen from craftsmen, mythological or otherwise, who were supposed to have founded a particular craft, from emperors, historical or legendary, and from the gods of current belief. Table XVI [2] lists the masters or gods worshiped by the Peking crafts.

The most popular of these masters is the God of Wealth, who is worshiped by eight guilds. *Kung Shu Lu Pan*, whom we have already described in our study of the Carpenters,[3] is a close second, being worshiped by seven of the craft guilds. The legends and stories about these supposed foun-

[1] The special objects of guild worship were called masters, founders, gods or patron saints, the terms sometimes being used interchangeably.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 188, 189.

[3] *Cf.* p. 100.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

D. The Pattern of the Religious Worship

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Our study shows that a general form of religious ceremony is practiced in all these guilds, irrespective of the nature of the master worshiped (with, of course, the exception of the Mohammedan Mosque service). Certain minor features are omitted and other unimportant additions are made, but the usual services held in temple, restaurant or guild correspond closely in type.

The guildsmen on arriving at the place of worship first register and pay their dues. They at once go forward to the altar for worship. Either the wooden effigy or the picture of the patron or master is the main object of worship. In front of this effigy or picture is arranged a feast for the master made up of such dishes as chicken, fish, meats, fruits, nuts, vegetables and rice. Imitation money of silver and gold paper is placed on the altar. Also, prayers printed on yellow paper from wooden cuts that are preserved and made use of each year, are hung near the guild spirit. Food, candles and incense have been prepared in advance by the officers of the guild. The candles are burned on a table in front of the portrait or image. There are also incense-burners in which incense is burning. The guildsmen, either one at a time or in groups, walk near to the altar, kneel and bow with their heads to the floor three times. They may or may not light incense themselves to place in front of the altar. In many cases photographs of prominent deceased guildsmen or scrolls containing their names are hung at either side of the main altar. These pictures are worshiped by members who had had some special personal relationship with the deceased guildsmen or whose teachers or shop masters had had such a relationship.

When most of the members have arrived the play for the god begins. Actors, hired for the purpose, give a drama for the benefit of the guild spirit who is supposed to be wit-

4. Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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nessing the performance. Before or after the play or during intermissions between parts, announcements are made and the business of the guild is discussed. Fines are announced and the names of offenders are read, or guildsmen who have transgressed the rules are summoned for trial in the presence of the master. The guilty are sometimes required to kneel before the master's picture as a sign of confession of their offences. Part of the program is the introduction of new members.

In some cases a feast is given for all the members, in others, for the officers only; and in other cases there are no feasts at the time of the annual guild meeting. Feasts also are considered an honor to the guild god.

After the worship, the play and the feast are over, it is customary for the elders or officers to carry out the ceremony known as *Sung shen,* or the ushering out of the god. This ceremony consists in carrying the paper coins and printed prayers to the outer court and burning them.

When the God of Wealth is worshiped his picture is also burned. This ceremony is supposed to signify the sending of the prayers and the contributions up to heaven to the guild master. It may or may not be witnessed by the common guild members.

There are, of course, many variations of this general pattern. For example, the Barbers specially emphasize the singing of the guild song at the ceremony, and the Mat Tent Builders, "if they can raise money enough," hire musicians to play during the day of the ceremony.

E. The Guildsmen's Estimation of the Significance of Religious Worship

In some of the guilds the religious service is evidently considered merely perfunctory, although among many of the craftsmen it still has considerable importance.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

The Paper Hangers tell us that the religious service is merely "a matter of tradition; it has no real effect." The representative of the Actors also says this ceremony "has no real significance." The Cooks and the Pork Shops give similar reports, and the Cloisonné Designers tell us that "the guildsmen have very keen interest in economic matters but very little in religious ones."

The transitional stage of the guilds in matters of religious worship is brought out by the following replies: "Formerly this worship had much significance but is now not significant" (Shoe Fasteners); "There was formerly a very close connection between guild worship and the general activities of the guild. Now there is no relationship at all" (Fur Merchants); "The problem of getting a living is more important than religion" (Barbers); "Worship is an unimportant thing, but the group spirit created through the meetings is very useful" (Leather Stores).

On the other hand, craft guilds and three professional guilds indicate that the religious services are still considered an important part of the guild's life. The Carpenters and the Masons indicate that there is genuine gratitude on the part of guildsmen for the craft that was handed down from the founder, Lu Pan. The Carpenters say: "The main purpose of founding the guilds is to worship the Master and express thankfulness for his handing down the technique." Some guilds express a doubt as to whether the guild would have held together except for the religious worship. The Masons say, "But for the religious bond, the guild might not have lasted so long"; the Tinkers, "But for the religious concept to overrule the mass, the guild might not have lasted so long." The idea of control, in addition to that of solidarity, is brought out by the guildsman who reported for the Awning Makers: "The relation between the religious rights and the solidarity of the guild is very close, for

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 offenders are brought to the master and are fined incense
*467 money." The master is considered to have control over the
782 actions of the guild members, and the breaking of the guild rules must be confessed and retribution made before him.

In several reports from commercial and craft guilds emphasis is placed on the good fellowship and friendship created by the meetings. The Hat Stores Guild says that the significance of the religious meetings can be expressed in two words, "worship and friendship." The Tea Guild of Foochow says that "the significance of the meetings lies in the creating of an atmosphere of friendliness." The reply to this question made by the Flowered Satin Merchants Guild of Nanking pictures the attitude of the guildsmen: "The religious nature is the vital element of the Association, Master *Chiang* and *Yun Chin* having become the collective symbol of the Association. On their birthdays feasts are enjoyed, business discussed, officers elected, apprentices initiated, and a feeling of friendliness among members created." [1]

It is evident, then, that in some guilds the religious ceremonies have become merely formal, but that in others, especially among the craftsmen (who usually are less literate and less in contact with present currents of life than the merchants) and the professionals, there is still a profound conviction as to the power of the guild master and his worship.

F. Evaluation of Religious Worship in the Guilds

*441 In endeavoring to evaluate the significance of religious
467 worship in guild life, we should first point out that *a priori*
124 we would expect the reports by our investigators to be biased
782 against the worship of the guildsmen. Our investigators and Mr. Chiao, the priest, were educated men. Mr. Chiao

[1] Master Chiang is supposed to have originated weaving, and Yun Chin, a woman, is supposed to have been the originator of sewing.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

was trained in the old Confucian School and would be expected to have the prejudice of the Confucian scholar against what is customarily considered by this group to be the superstitious practices of the unlettered artisans and merchants. The three investigators were men trained in Christian colleges in China, and one of them also at Columbia University. One naturally would not expect an understanding report on the significance of these primitive religious practices from men of such background. But in spite of this background the testimony of Mr. Chang, our principal investigator, has significance. He acknowledged his previous conviction that the religious practices of the guilds were entirely formal and of no importance, but after he had studied guild after guild he was forced to admit that religious practices and beliefs were an important feature of guild life.

The decline in religious interests in many of the guilds, already noted, should not lead us to discount the original strength of the religious element in guild life. Here we can do no more than point out certain possible interpretations of the religious ceremonies.

(1) At least in the minds of certain of the craftsmen, the most important element in religious worship is genuine thanksgiving to the guild founder for having originally discovered the craft, for in so doing the founder has supplied a means of livelihood for his followers.

(2) It is possible that the religious ceremony dignifies the workmen in their own estimation of themselves. Are they not those who are in the line of succession as followers of the guild founder? They are keepers of the tradition of good workmanship, or of honesty or other virtues characterizing the master. There seems little evidence that the guilds guard as secrets the processes of their crafts. We are told, however, that certain of the dyeing processes are kept as secrets of the guild, but it has not been possible to verify this statement.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

(3) Religion has also been conceived as an aid in survival in time of group crises [1] and as a means of obtaining control of supernatural forces which aid in securing whatever is most coveted by the group.[2] It may be that in the religious worship there is this element both of dependence upon and of desire to attain control of the power or potentialities associated with the master or founder of the guild. It is supposed that a proper adjustment to him attained by following traditionally accepted forms of worship will secure the desired economic success or skill in craftsmanship.

(4) Closely associated with this view is the conception of magic and special potency immediately issuing from the photograph or effigy of the guild founder. In describing attendance at one of the guild meetings, an eye-witness said that there was great rivalry among a group of craftsmen for a place in the row immediately in front of the effigy of Lu Pan. When asked to explain this desire for proximity to the master, Mr. Chang, our investigator, said, "This is very natural. Those behind in a group, when they worship, are worshiping the backs of the others rather than the master's effigy." It is possible that this mystical element in the belief in the securing of special blessing or power from the god may also be a factor.

(5) There is little evidence that fear of the guild master has very much to do with the worship. However, the offender of guild rules is summoned before the guild master. Presumably he feels guilty, not only in the sight of his fellow guildsmen but also in the sight of the guild god.

(6) Dr. Goldenweiser, in his interesting treatment of totemism,[3] states that the essential factor in totemistic prac-

[1] R. R. Marrett, *Anthropology* (New York, 1912).

[2] W. K. Wright, *A Student's Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1922).

[3] A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization* (New York, 1922), pp. 288-90.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

tices and worship is the identification of the total social system with the symbolic object of worship. He finds in the symbols of college classes, football teams, the Elks and the Masons present-day survivals of this early notion. It is possible, especially in the case of the craft guilds, that there may be this emotional fusion of loyalty and regard for the guild, its functions and operations, with worship of the symbolic master who founded the craft. Worship of this sort would involve an emotional identification (on the part of individual worshipers) with the guild as a group. The testimony of several of the guildsmen concerning the strength of a "united body" and the "sense of solidarity" and the statement that except for the worship of the master the guild might not have held together, would seem to point in this direction.

(7) When we analyze carefully the pattern of worship in the guild meetings we find a great similarity to the ceremonies in the clan ancestral temple. In the worship in the clan ancestral hall the ceremonies are conducted at one time by the group as a whole, while at their meetings the guildsmen come in one by one, or in groups, and worship as they arrive; but in other respects the ceremonies are strikingly similar. The portrait or tablet of the clan founder is in the center of the pictures or tablets of important family heads of past generations. The offerings are of the same character, and in both cases the ceremony of printed prayers and of kneeling three times is observed. A similar form of worship is observed in the temples at the time of special festivals in honor of certain gods. The early origin of this general worship pattern is a subject far beyond the scope of this treatment. It seems at least possible, however, that the guild worship may have originated as a mere transference of the behavior pattern of the family clan to the newly-founded guild.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

more than $70 a month, had some Christian members, but only 12 per cent of the families receiving less than that amount. For the families receiving more than $70 a month, the averages were $17.20 for those with one or more Christian members; $22.15 for one Mohammedan family; and $10.70 for the other families reporting. Below $70 a month, the averages for the families reporting were $7 for the Christian, 4 cents for the Mohammedan, and 40 cents for the others. Only six families gave away more than $25 a year. The maximum was $103.50, given by a family with an income of $120 a month. In this family, the wife was doing volunteer work for a Christian church.

Religion

Incense, paper money, paper gods, special food eaten at festival time, lanterns for the Feast of Lanterns on the fifteenth of the First Moon, lotus lanterns for the Feast of the Departed Spirits on the fifteenth of the Seventh Moon, mugwort branches to be hung over the door on the fifth of the Fifth Moon, pine and sesamum stalks to be used at New Year's time, are the principal items included under the heading "Religion." Two hundred and fifty-seven families, 91 per cent, spent something for one or more of these items, but the amounts were small. The total expenditure for all families was only $601. The averages per family reporting varied from 13 cents a year for the $5 group, to $7 a year for the $90 group. For only eight of the income groups, was the average over $3 a year. For all the groups, the average was less than 1 per cent of the family budget; and for all but five, it was less than 0.5 per cent.

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Although the expenditure for religion was less than 1 per cent of the family budget, it has been of interest to make a detailed study of the expenditures, in order to determine the amounts Chinese families spend for the different items connected with their religious observances.

Incense, which costs 8 coppers, or 2 cents, per bundle for the small sticks ordinarily used, and 24 coppers per bundle for the large sticks, was purchased by 206 families. In two-thirds of the income groups, the families used an average of less than one bundle of small sticks a month. For only two groups, was the average expenditure over $1 per year. The maximum, $2.05, was the average for the $60 group. It was especially large there, as three families in that group spent more than $4 apiece during the year, and one spent $6.35. The total amount spent for incense by the 206 families was $128. (Table 37.)

Paper money, which is burned in connection with many religious services, was bought by 137 families. The total expenditure was $85. The income group averages, per family reporting, varied from 5 cents to $3.67 a year, but for only five groups was the average over $1. One family in the $70 group spent $11 for paper money for New Year's.

Paper gods—usually purchased for New Year's and at the time of the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon—and paper strips to be pasted on the sides of the gate at New Year's, were bought by 123 families. The average expenditure was some 18 cents per family, the total reported expenditure being $22. For only three income groups, was the average, per family reporting, more than 30 cents. The maximum was 75 cents.

Candles for religious worship were bought by only 26

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782 families. For two-thirds of the families, the amount was
788 less than 10 cents. The largest amount, $2.95, was spent
x 511 by a family in the $40 group for candles for the New Year's celebration. One family reported the purchase of special candles to be lighted before the Kitchen God on the night of the twenty-third of the Twelfth Moon, the night he is burned and sent to heaven to make his report on the events of the year.

Nineteen families spent an average of 4 cents apiece for sesamum stalks, and 15 families a total of 28 cents for pine branches at New Year's time. Nine families bought firecrackers for the New Year's celebration. For two families, the amount was over $2. Five families spent from 8 to 10 coppers apiece for mugwort to hang over the door on the fifth of the Fifth Moon. The cost of the lotus lanterns set afloat in the moat on the fifteenth of the Seventh Moon, was 2 cents apiece. One family spent $4 for new clothes for the family gods.

Some foods, such as fruit for sacrifice and the special cakes eaten at festival time, seemed to be so closely connected with the religious life of the Chinese that the amounts spent for them have been put under religion, rather than food. Fruit to be set before the gods as part of the feasts offered them was the principal item. For most of the income groups the amount, per family reporting, was between $1.10 and $3.25, but for the groups below $30 it was less than 80 cents. For the $70 group, the average was $10.70. After the fruit had been offered to the gods, it was eaten by the families.

796 The special festival cakes are *nien kao*, made from glu-
x 511 tinous rice flour, dates, bean flour and sugar; *yuan hsiao*, round balls of rice flour with a filling of melon seeds, can-

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511 796 died fruit, et cetera, eaten at New Year's time; *tsung-tzŭ,* balls of glutinous rice wrapped in leaves of reeds; cakes with likenesses on them of the "five poisonous insects"—viper, scorpion, centipede, toad and spider—used for the fifth of the Fifth Moon; moon cakes, eaten at the time of the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. Only 63 families bought cakes, and only two families bought them for all three festivals. It seems evident, therefore, that most of the families make their own festival cakes. The reported expenditure for all the different kinds of cakes averaged less than 25 cents per family, for the income groups below $70 a month. The maximum was $1.70 in the $175 group. This average was large, as one family in that group spent $4.80 for moon cakes to be offered to the god of the moon before they were eaten.

A special porridge, *la-pa-chou,* is eaten on the eighth of the Twelfth Moon to commemorate the day when the Goddess of Mercy left her home for the Buddhist convent. One family who gave us a complete list used over 20 ingredients—five different kinds of grain, beans, lily and melon seeds, peanuts, chestnuts, walnuts, apricot, peach and pine seeds, dates, green plums, sugar.

782 788 511 As all the members of only a few families were Christian, we were interested to see how many of the 59 families with one or more Christian members bought incense, paper money, festival cakes. Four families purchased incense; two bought paper money; 31 purchased festival cakes; and seven bought fruit for religious use. Nineteen of the 26 families who spent nothing for religion had one or more Christian members. Any money given to the church was classed as a contribution, rather than an expenditure for religion.